

“Don’t Blame the Shopkeeper!!”: How Food, Drink and Confectionary Brands’ Advertising Dealt with Shortages and British Government Control of the Market During the Second World War

Mick Hayes,

Marketing and Sales Subject Group, Portsmouth Business School, University of Portsmouth, Portsmouth, UK. PO1 3DE.

Abstract

Purpose – The purpose of this paper is to present research into how shortages and Government regulation of the food, drink and confectionery industries during the Second World War impacted on brands’ advertising.

Design/methodology/approach – The study consisted of a content analysis of more than 10,000 advertisements from the Daily Express and Daily Mirror newspapers, of which more than 1,800 were specifically for food, drink and confectionery brands. Building on previous work by Burridge (2008) it explores different message strategies used by brands in response to rationing, shortages, zoning and pooling

Findings – While rationing has been discussed at length in the historiography of the Second World War, the other forms of Government control of industry and markets, have not. The advertising of food, drink and confectionery brands illustrates that while brands provided information to their customers about rationing, shortages, zoning and pooling, the latter three also prompted brands to apologise, look to the future and urge patience. These different messages offer an insight into the impact that shortages and control had on consumers and business.

Research limitations/implications – This study is based on the Monday to Saturday editions of the Daily Express and Daily Mirror from August 1939 to September 1945. Further research could explore other publications or the period after the war as rationing and control continued. Exploration of brand and agency archives could also provide more background into brands’ objectives and decision making.

Keywords:

Advertising history, Business history, Second World War, Britain, Rationing, Zoning, Pooling, Shortages

Introduction

The Second World War saw extensive intervention in the food, drink and confectionary markets by the British Government, as they attempted to influence both the demand for, and the supply of, food available to British

consumers. Much of the discussion of food on the home front in the historiography focuses on rationing. A content analysis of food, drink and confectionary advertising, in the Daily Express and Daily Mirror across the war however, illustrates that government control was more extensive than this. These sectors were chosen because they represent all of the main forms of government market interference experienced during the war, with the exception of utility, giving a good illustration of most of the ways this interference affected advertising. The Daily Express and Daily Mirror were chosen due to their high level of circulation. According to Pugh (1998, citing Jenkins, 1986), in 1945 their circulation was 3.23 million and 2 million respectively.

This paper will explore how advertising dealt with zoning and pooling, both from the point of view of brands which were themselves in short supply or absent, or those which were offered as alternatives to brands in short supply. The exploration of these different types of control will expand the historiography beyond the current concentration on rationing and allow a more nuanced discussion of government control generally during the war and its impact on advertising in particular. The examination of newspaper advertising and the historiography indicates several different reasons for absences or shortages, each of which will be discussed. First, the Government's attempts to systematically control the supply of certain brands. Second, brands which were not necessarily controlled but which were in short supply for other reasons. Third, brands which were not affected by control or shortages but which were positioned as being useful ways to extend supplies of those products which were in short supply. Fourth, the paper will explore how some brands' advertisements reflected the ways in which the brands were affected by shortages in raw materials or in packaging. Next, the paper will discuss advertising by brands which were absent. Throughout the paper, different positioning strategies used by advertisers in response to shortages or absences will be discussed and tabulated, building on and extending the work done by BurrIDGE (2008). Finally, these strategies will be tabulated to highlight how these issues impacted on advertising.

The paper begins, however, by providing context through a discussion of advertisements which specifically mention rationing, or some element of it such as ration coupons.

Rationing

Food rationing was planned before the start of the Second World War as a way to prevent the social unrest which resulted from food shortages and inflation in Russia, Austria-Hungary and Germany in 1917, as well as in Britain in 1916 (Mackay, 2003). While petrol rationing began in September 1939, due to public concerns about government interference, food rationing was not introduced immediately (Longmate, 1971). The war began with what Mackay (2003, p. 53) describes as “four months of free-for-all” before rationing of bacon, butter and sugar began in January 1940 (Longmate, 1971), in response to the end of “imports of butter and bacon from Denmark”(Alcock, 2008). A detailed list of “the main commodities” rationed as of the beginning of 1942 is given by Richardson (1942). Table I gives a brief illustrative timeline of the introduction of rationing.

As Table I shows food rationing began in a fairly limited fashion in January 1940 and was extended over the course of the next two years, first to cover more types of food and then clothing. Changes to the rationing system continued throughout the war both in terms of what was rationed and the amount that was allowed each person, all of which meant brands needed to be flexible in the way their advertisements dealt with rationing as well as zoning and pooling. In the months after the introduction of food rationing, the number of advertisements explicitly mentioning rationing (or ration coupons) increased. In part, this was due to a number of brands anticipating the introduction of rationing, sometimes incorrectly. The increase was not consistent however, since in some cases the brands carried on discussing similar issues, but just stopped specifically mentioning rationing. This issue will also be discussed in more detail later in the paper.

Date	Product
22 September 1939	Petrol rationing began.
November 1939	Registration with retailers for rations ordered.
8 January 1940	Ham and bacon, sugar and butter rationed.
11 March 1940	Meat rationed to just over 1lb or 1s 10d worth per week.
By July 1940	Margarine, butter, cooking fats and suet reduced to 2oz per week; Tea rationing introduced; National Milk Scheme introduced; Rationing of chocolate and sweets begun.
7 July 1940	Marcom Ltd set up to replace branded margarines.
March 1941	Jam, syrup and marmalade rationed (followed by honey and lemon curd).
5 May 1941	Cheese rationed.
7 June 1941	Points rationing introduced for clothes.
July 1941	Cheese ration reduced to 1 oz per week.
November 1941	Controlled Distribution of liquid milk began.
December 1941	Points system extended to “non-perishable commodities”.
9 February 1942	Soap rationing introduced.

Table I. Timeline of the Introduction of Rationing and Control. (Adapted from, Alcock, 2008; Bell, 2008; Brady, 1950; Gardiner, 2005; Harvey, 1991; Jobling, 2005; Longmate, 1971; Minns, 1980; Zweininger-Bargielowska, 2000)

As Burrridge (2008, p. 392) states “As well as being a problem, rationing was also a *resource* for advertisers – it was something that could be invoked and used in various ways” (emphasis in original). Therefore, the response to the introduction of rationing differed between industry sectors and brands, although most of the advertisements mentioning rationing in January, February, March and April 1940 were from brands in the food and drink sector.

A number of brands, as early as October and November 1939, anticipated the beginning of rationing of food and domestic fuel (coal, gas and electricity), which was never rationed, which was possibly driven in part by the requirement for consumers to register with a retailer for their rations (Longmate, 1971). According to diarist Constance Miles (Miles, 2013), ration cards for gas were issued in October 1939 only for an announcement to be made a week later that neither gas nor electricity would be rationed (no mention was made of coal), indicating that anticipating fuel rationing was reasonable.

Anticipation was also a feature of the advertisements in December and early January, since they predate the beginning of food rationing. Many of these early advertisements, featured positioning strategies, i.e., attempts to influence how consumers perceived the brand, and messages for the brands which would be repeated throughout the war. The idea that different positioning strategies might be used was proposed by Burrridge (2008) who identified seven strategies in advertisements in women’s magazines across the whole period of rationing (Table II). A contribution of this paper to the historiography is the identification of the extent to which variations of these strategies can be found in the newspaper advertisements identified in this study, taking into account Burrridge’s point that more than one strategy can appear in an advertisement. First however, each will be briefly described.

	Woman’s Own	Woman & Home	Total
Product is available and a solution or substitute for rationed goods	35	6	41
Product is available, because it is “essential”	2	1	3
Product is the same as pre-war, or, better now	4	0	4
Product is scarce _ but worth it when you get it	7	0	7
Product is currently unavailable _ provision of a substitute service	3	3	6
Product is currently unavailable _ it will be back soon	8	3	11

The product is back now or available again	9	3	2
Total	68	16	84

Table II Incidence of positioning strategies by magazine, 1940-1955 (Burridge, 2008, p. 323)

Overall Burridge's (2008) typology is a very useful beginning to exploring the nature of advertising in the Second World War. However, by failing to differentiate the impact of rationing (designed to ensure equal shares of a limited supply by limiting demand) from the impact of the measures that limited supply, a good deal of nuance is lost. This is particularly true in cases where influences on both demand and supply were present. These cases will be discussed later in the paper, but first messages related to rationing will be discussed.

Messages Relating to Rationing

Interestingly the Bovril advertisement shown in Figure 1, below, which predates the rationing of food, introduced in January 1940 (Minns, 1980) contains the explicit statement that "Bovril isn't rationed!" As Clampin (2009, pp. 58-60) states however, "the producers of sauces, meat extracts, condiments and soups" anticipated that shortages would increase demand for their products. It is possible that either Bovril anticipated that food rationing would begin earlier than it did or were simply trying to position themselves in the mind of consumers as a non-rationed product for when rationing actually began. The requirement in November 1939 for consumers to register themselves with retailers for certain foodstuffs (Bell, 2008), may have prompted either of these reactions. Either way, as Clampin (2009) indicates, the positioning strategy of offering 'a solution or substitute for rationed goods', in particular by making them go further was followed through the war by "the producers of sauces, meat extracts, condiments and soups". The further claim that Bovril helped to get "more good from all your food" supports the view that the advertisement was intended to position Bovril as something consumers needed "now more than ever". This positioning matched closely the stance of the Ministry of Food which revolved around making the best use of the available food, however unusual or unappetising (Minns, 1980). In relation to a different type of product, desserts, Chivers (1940) took a similar approach, suggesting in an advertisement in January in the Daily Express in January 1940, "in these days of food rationing" their range of jellies meant that "hospitality need not make demands upon your family sugar allowance". One of a variety of messages around rationing and shortages was a similar approach taken by Weetabix, based on the pre-war habit of having bacon for breakfast and positioning the brand as a replacement meal (Clampin, 2014, p. 83).



Figure 1 Bovril Advertisement. (Bovril, 1939)

This approach was also aimed, by a number of different brands, at parents who were worried about the impact of rationing and shortages on the health of their children. This began very early in the war by brands such as Virol, Figure 2, and as will be seen continued throughout the war by a number of other brands. The Virol advertisement in Figure 2, takes both an informative and emotional approach, comparing the brand to 'other "extras"' in its positive impact on children's growth. The photograph of a happy smiling girl playing hockey is also an example of a common technique used to both imply the health and happiness of the children who are given it. Also interesting is the fact that winter is mentioned more prominently than rationing, probably because winter was a certainty while rationing was only a possibility. Overall the likelihood is, as with other brands mentioned above, that Virol were simply anticipating rationing as a general possibility and attempting to position themselves early as a response.

This winter will test their health

Virol, more than anything else, will build up your child's strength during the difficult months ahead. Virol supplies every element that growing bodies need. Virol gives increased resistance to colds, chills and winter infections.

Children love Virol—spread like butter—on bread, toast or biscuits

NO INCREASE IN PRICE.
Jars 1/6 & 3/6. Family Jar 13/-

“DIET-DEFICIENCY”
The problem of the hour

Even ordinary un-rationed meals do not provide enough of the elements children need to withstand the strain of winter—hence the need for an “extra.” This danger of Diet-Deficiency is even greater in war-time. Virol is the only “extra” that supplies all the missing elements. The diagram shows the results of scientific comparison of the effects of various “extras” on the growth of children. Virol was far the most successful.

STRENGTHEN AND PROTECT WITH VIROL

ON VIROL—IDEAL RATE OF GROWTH
ON OTHER “EXTRAS”
NO “EXTRA”

Figure 2 Virol Advertisements. (Virol, 1939)

Virol positioned themselves to replace the benefits of products no longer available, as a ‘solution’, even though they might not be able to fulfil the role of the product in consumers’ diets. In February 1940, Walters’ Palm Toffee (1940) took a similar position, as a way to replace the sugar that was now missing from children’s diets. As will be seen, this was a position which would be taken by other confectionery brands as the war progressed, in relation to shortages generally, rather than rationing in particular.

The final approach taken in relation to the ‘solution or substitute’ positioning, could be called ‘doing without’, in which the brand claims that using it would allow consumers to do without the rationed product, when their ration ran out. For example, this was the approach taken by Ryvita (1940), in Figure 3, claiming that their brand was so good that it meant butter was not necessary. A similar approach was taken by Hovis (1940), again in relation to butter and Creamola Custard Pudding (1940) in relation to eggs.

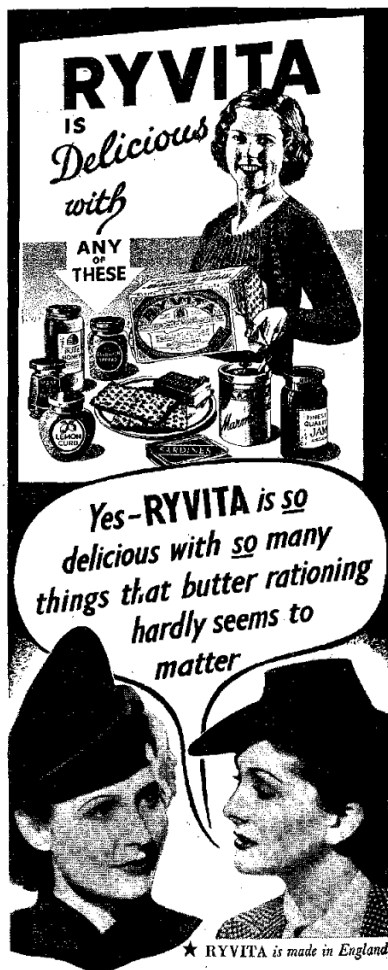


Figure 3 Ryvita Advertisement. (Ryvita, 1940)

The Ryvita advertisement in Figure 3 also contains a different execution from the other advertisements explored so far. Rather than a simple presentation of facts with supporting imagery, the advertisement features two women in conversation, which presents the information about how to make the best of rations. This could be considered to be an example of the technique of slice-of-life advertising, along with what Jones and Gerard (1967 cited by Moschis, 1976) describe as a “co-oriented peer”. This is defined by Moschis (1976, p. 237) as “an individual or groups whose outlook and values are similar to one’s own”. The women represent the housewives who were the most likely customers for the brand with the advice being given as if from a friend in a similar situation. It is easy to imagine that even in the early days of the war, this image would resonate with consumers, with conversations like this quickly becoming a part of the lives of the target audience as rationing, control and shortages increased.

The provision of information is a role of advertising, particularly in the case of high involvement purchase decisions, where the consumer has more incentive to seek and take in information (Petty, *et al.*, 1983). While food would normally be considered a low involvement decision, it could be argued that during the Second World War, this changed. For example, according to Minns (1980, p. 89) “for women war workers, shopping was usually a nightmare” due to the need to fit shopping around shifts. Adding to this, the complexities of the rationing and control system and shortages of familiar foods or absence of favoured brands, it all meant that more thought

and planning was needed by (mainly) women, than in the pre-war period. This point was made by Gardiner (2005, p. 181) who stated that “rationing was essentially something that women organised and mediated”.

There is a degree of overlap between certain positioning strategies and the provision of information. For example, between the making things go further aspect of the ‘solution or substitute’ positioning and the provision of information. While the first makes a claim that the brand can make other goods go further, the second shows how. This will however, be more relevant, particularly in the early years of the war, for advertisements relating to shortages generally, rather than rationing specifically in part, as will be shown, because rationing of the product was not often explicitly mentioned, instead the shortage of the brand would be.

The provision of information, therefore can be seen as an important message style adopted by brands in response to rationing and to other aspects of control and shortages generally, as will be seen later in this paper. This information took a number of forms, though specifically in relation to rationing, it often centred on the administration of the process. For example, Figure 4 illustrates how Bassett’s Liquorice Allsorts, as well as using their brand character Bertie Bassett and familiar cartoon style to exhort customers to contribute to “Wings for Victory” and to “keep smiling” also informs them that this is the “2nd Week of Ration Period No. 9”. In the context of this research, the information message does not mean ‘general’ information, such as brand names or addresses, but instead only information specifically relevant to rationing, zoning, pooling, shortages or absent brands. As will be seen, beyond the area of rationing, quite complex information could be provided by advertising brands in response to zoning, pooling, shortages and absent brands. In some cases, for example, brands provided detailed information in the form of recipes, or even recipe books and services, as in the case of Stork Margarine (Clampin, 2014).



Figure 4 Bassett’s Liquorice Allsorts Advertisement. (Bassett’s Liquorice Allsorts, 1943, p. 7)

Food rationing was an attempt to control demand for various products in short supply, in order to maintain social order and to reduce price inflation (Longmate, 1971; Jobling, 2005). Other official efforts to interfere in the food and confectionary markets were made on the supply side, on firms themselves to control production and transport, and both had an impact on advertising; they were zoning and pooling.

Zoning

Along with pooling of brands, discussed later, zoning has received very little attention in the historiography, generally being hidden within the broader discussion of rationing. A major contribution of this paper will be to address this gap as well as discuss why the difference is important. According to Hammond (1954, p. 127) zoning was an “attempt to save transport by limiting the area within which a certain manufacturer’s goods might be distributed”. In effect it meant that the manufacturers of certain brands were limited to supplying customers in the area of the country in which the production facilities were located, to limit what would now be called the ‘food miles’, and hence the use of transport and fuel, associated with the brand. Hammond (1954) refers to syrup and treacle being zoned, while Brayley and McGregor (2005, p. 20) refer to ‘chocolate and other sweets’ being included in the scheme. A review of the advertising indicates that cakes (see Figure 5), biscuits and cereals were also zoned.

For brands, zoning presented a quite complex situation for their advertising to deal with. First, brands had to explain a new and complex system to their customers and how it affected the brand. Second, they had try to sell their brand to one group of consumers who may still be able to purchase it, albeit in limited quantities, while trying to maintain brand awareness and keep a good image with another, larger group who could not obtain the brand. Compared to brands which were simply rationed, the need for information was therefore much greater. As Figure 5 demonstrates, in some cases part of the burden of educating consumers was taken on by temporary industry bodies, such as the Cake and Biscuits Manufacturers War Time Alliance Ltd., created to support the industry during the war.

More transport released by Cake Zoning

In order to release more transport for essential war work a Zoning scheme for Cake is now in operation. Cake Manufacturers will confine their distribution to the zones allotted to them, thus saving not only trains but road transportation, with a corresponding saving in man-power.

This may mean the cake which you have been accustomed to may not now be available. But of this you can be assured: all cake is wholesome and nourishing.

Issued by the Cake and Biscuit Manufacturers War Time Alliance Ltd. in explanation of the zoning and distribution plans affecting Cake and Flour Confectionery.



Chocolate and Sweets now Zoned

LOOK AT THIS MAP and see which of the four zones you live in; your local sweet-shops now get chocolate and sweets made in that zone only, with certain necessary exceptions.

This scheme has been drawn up by the makers of chocolate and sweets, working with the Government. Its purpose is to save transport and manpower in the National interest, and at the same time to ensure that everybody all over the country can get the full ration.

Issued by the Chocolate and Sugar Confectionery (War Time) Associations
104 Watergate Street, Chester

(a)

(b)

Figure 5 Industry Zoning Advertisements, April and June 1943 (Cake and Biscuit Manufacturers War Time Alliance, 1943; Chocolate and Sugar Confectionery (War Time) Association, 1943)

The use of a map to illustrate the zones by brands such as Fox's Glacier Mints and Vita-Weat crispbread continued at least into 1944, as shown in Figure 6. This illustrates that even once the initial scheme was in place, and had been for a while, brands still felt the need to explain where they were, and hence were not, available. In part this need could be a result of inconsistency between the schemes. For example, comparing the three maps in Figures 5b, and 6 indicates that the zones were not consistent across different industries. For example, the Vita-Weat advertisement indicates that for crispbreads there are only two zones and the Southern Zone extends up to The Wash and incorporates much of the Midlands. For sweets and chocolates, however, there are four zones and the Southern Zone stops on the approximate northern border of Essex and extends on a slightly erratic, but generally east-west line across the country. It is likely that this would have caused some confusion for consumers, particularly if the zones for other products were different, necessitating the continuing use of the maps



(a)



(b)

Figure 6 Zoning Advertisements. (Fox's Glacier Mints, 1944; Vita-Weat, 1944),

This represents the next message type used by brands in relation to control, shortages and absences of brands, the 'explanation for shortage / absence'. In the case of Fox's Glacier Mints, the explanation is relatively implicit, rather than explicit; by stating 'we are not available in the southern, western and Scottish zones' the brand specifies the zone where the brand is available. By stating "the whole of our output is being delivered into the EASTERN Zone" they offer what could be termed an explanation by omission. Vita-Weat, using the brand characters Mr Peek and Mr Frean, take a more explicit approach, but again concentrate on the presence on the brand in one zone rather than its absence from the other. Explanations do not appear on the list of positioning strategies provided by BurrIDGE in relation to rationing advertisements, possibly in part because brands did not need to explain rationing, since it affected the demand for the product, rather than the supply of the brands. This indicates the importance of considering zoning separately from rationing, since different messages were required by brands to deal with the consequences of different forms of control. This recognition of the role of explanations is another contribution of this paper.

As Figure 7 shows, some brands, in this case Fox's Glacier Mints and Bassett's Liquorice Allsorts also used some of their advertisements to apologise to their customers in the zones where they were not available and to retain brand awareness for when the brands would be available everywhere again. The apologies in these advertisements were used in relation to zoning, but not in relation to rationing, even though, as Figure 4 shows, chocolates and sweets were also rationed. As will be seen, apologies were used in relation to other causes of

brand shortages or absence but not rationing. The two advertisements illustrate that an apology could either be a major part of the advertisement, in the case of Figure 7a, or almost an afterthought as in Figure 7b.



(a)



(b)

Figure 7 Fox's Glacier Mints and Bassett's Liquorice Allsorts Advertisements. (Fox's Glacier Mints, 1943; Bassett's Liquorice Allsorts, 1944)

In both cases however, there is the implication that the zoning of the brand is playing a part in ending the war, although the Bassett's advertisement links the return more to progress in the war, while Fox's Glacier Mints merely refers to the return of the brand to the whole country in more oblique terms. This is possibly because the Bassett's advertisement appears later in the war after the D-Day invasion when victory seemed certain. Additionally, the placing of Bertie Bassett in the position of a British soldier, which was consistent throughout the war, allowed an association with the war effort, which Fox's Glacier Mints could not match. Brand characters in a number of sectors often had a role to play in ensuring the brand "remains at the forefront of the audience's thoughts" (Herskovitz and Crystal, 2010, p. 21).

While shortages of a brand meant that supplies may be limited or intermittent, it was still reasonable for brands to advise customers to seek out the brand or wait for it to come into stock (as indicated by Burridge's, 2008, positioning strategies). The need to maintain loyalty and brand awareness was important, but could be reinforced by at least occasional use and some degree of visibility. For brands which were zoned, however, most consumers would not be able to get the brand at all until the end of war. This leads to one of the main roles of advertising during the Second World War, helping brands attempt "to keep their names before the public, even

though their goods might not be available” (Nevett, 1982, p.169). In these cases mentions of the return of the brand gave consumers a reason to remember it, while the use of brand imagery and characters, such as the Fox’s bear and Bertie Bassett, acted as a heuristic for brand memories and feelings.

Arguably this was even more important in the absolute absence of those brands in industries which had been pooled.

Pooling

As stated earlier the pooling of brands has received limited attention in the historiography, even though it had an impact on some major products, for example margarine. In the margarine industry, it involved what Burrridge (2008, p.397) refers to as “voluntary de-branding”. This meant that all individual margarine brands disappeared and margarine was sold “as a subsidised product under one pooled company name, Marcom” (Levene, 2014, p. 151 citing Van Stuyvenberg, 1969, and Burrridge 2008), which was created on 4 July 1940. Brady (1950, p. 456) however, notes that this was “merely the new name for the Joint Executive Committee of the [Edible Oil Association of England and Scotland]”, which was likely to have made the process of zoning in this case at least run more smoothly.

Pooling impacted on advertising in two main ways. First through advertisements for the original brands and second for the newly created ‘national brand’. The most common advertiser among the ‘de-branded’ brands, was Stork Margarine, which along with the other margarine brands, was subsumed into Marcom. Stork continued to advertise across the whole war (and in the period after the war when rationing and pooling continued). In August 1940, “in order to keep the name alive” (Harvey, 1991, p. 12) and “in an effort to add value to the Stork brand” (Clampin, 2014, p. 52), Stork introduced the Stork Margarine Cookery Service. The announcement was made through “a modest press campaign” (Harvey, 1991, p.12), such as Figure 8 below. The language used, stating that the brand “joins up” along with the imagery of the Stork brand character standing in a military manner with a rifle and helmet, gives a clear implication that the disappearance of the brand was intended to aid the war effort. This is language and imagery that would have been familiar to consumers at the time, both from the First and Second World Wars. This, similar to the use of Bertie Bassett discussed earlier, is a clear attempt to position the disappearance of the brand as a positive thing, a necessary sacrifice to win the war. Stork’s use of their character in this way however, was only temporary, as can be seen in Figure 8b, as opposed to Bassett’s more consistent portrayal of Bertie Bassett as a British soldier.

What Stork also did was begin to make use of another positioning strategy outlined by Burrridge (2008) (see Table II), specifically ‘brand is currently unavailable - provision of a substitute service’. Indeed, Burrridge uses this campaign as an example of this positioning strategy. However, Burrridge discusses this in relation to the rationing of margarine and other products, more than the disappearance of Stork. Stork itself was absent (more detail on absent brands will be given later) due to pooling so could not serve as a solution or a substitute for rationed products, but by providing expertise to consumers, in the form of ‘a substitute service’, the brand provided a solution to the problems caused by control and shortages. The hope being that as the war progressed and the service solved more of the consumers’ problems the name would be associated with expertise and gain other positive associations of helpfulness at a time of need. While the associations actually made are impossible to

judge so many years after the war, it is clear that the number of consumers seeking help from the service increased, from 10,000 in 1940 "to 1 million by 1947" (Harvey, 1991, p. 12). In part this success is likely to have resulted from the flexibility of the service, adapting to different seasons, different levels of food supply and as in Figure 8b, a variety of food types, both rationed and not (Harvey, 1991).

STORK MARGARINE JOINS UP

As a contribution to National Service the makers of STORK MARGARINE have agreed with all other manufacturers of Margarine and Cooking Fats to pool their resources, and to cease the marketing of branded Margarine and Cooking Fats for the duration of the war. This scheme will achieve economy in distribution and transport, and will contribute to the greater efficiency of the national war effort. N.B.—Your favourite Stork brand will not be on sale until victory has been finally achieved,



but the
STORK COOKERY SERVICE
is still available to you



Housewives are invited to use the Stork Margarine Cookery Service as their advice bureau on all problems connected with food and cookery. The Service will also use these columns to give recipes and practical detailed information on how best to use the food available in war time. All inquiries will be replied to personally if you will kindly address them to The Stork Margarine Cookery Service, Unilever House, Blackfriars, London, E.C.4.


LOOK OUT FOR FURTHER ANNOUNCEMENTS

JBC 14-452

(a)

NATIONAL SERVICE ON THE KITCHEN FRONT

THE USE OF UNRATIONED FOODS



THERE are many excellent meat foods not rationed, such as hearts, kidneys, ham, liver and sausages, and they should be used as much as possible. Here is a recipe for a Wartime Savoury Pudding.

Wartime Savoury Pudding 1 sheep's hearts, 2 sheep's kidneys, 1 tablespoonful seasoned flour (flour mixed with 1 salt-spoonful salt, 1 salt-spoonful pepper), 1 tablespoonful chopped fresh herbs (parsley, mint, tarragon, chervil, etc.), 8 ozs. self-raising flour, 4 ozs. chopped suet or dripping, 1/2 teaspoonful salt, Cold water.

Cut hearts and kidneys in small pieces and toss in seasoned flour. Chop herbs. Make a pudding paste by mixing chopped suet with the flour and salt (or rubbing in dripping) and mixing to a stiff paste with cold water. Line a basin with 1/2 of the paste; leave 1/2 for the top. Pack in the floured meat, scattering chopped herbs between each layer. Add a little cold water for gravy, and cover. Cover with two layers of grease-proof.

And, as eggs are still scarce and dear, here is a recipe for

Fig & Apple Pudding without eggs 4 ozs. suet or cooking fat, 1 large cooking apple, peeled and cored, 8 ozs. figs, 4 ozs. stale breadcrumbs, 3 ozs. self-raising flour, 2 1/2 gills milk.

Chop or put the suet, figs and apple through the mincer. Mix them thoroughly together in one basin. In another basin pour the milk over the breadcrumbs. Mix the soaked breadcrumbs and the fruit and suet together, and add the flour. Steam for 2 1/2 hours, and serve accompanied by honey, golden syrup or custard.

THE STORK MARGARINE COOKERY SERVICE

is sponsored by the makers of Stork Margarine in the confident belief that when victory has been finally achieved Stork Margarine will once again be available to the discerning housewife.

SEND A POSTCARD to The Stork Margarine Cookery Service, Unilever House, London, E.C.4, for leaflet No. 3, on "Meals in Air Raids and other recipes," and consult the Service on all cooking problems.

JBC 17-151

(b)

Figure 8 Stork Margarine Cookery Service Advertisements. (Stork Margarine Cookery Service, 1940a; 1940b)

This approach of promoting the individual brand outside of the pooled product was not unique to Stork, although Stork were the only pooled brand in the two newspapers to advertise consistently over the course of the war. Other brands began to advertise in the later years of the war, anticipating their return, when victory began to seem more certain. Kraft Cheese (1943) for example, advertised in late 1943, apologising that "there's no Kraft Cheese now being made!", using a similar approach to Stork (see Figure 9), of providing a recipe for consumers, without explicitly mentioning pooling. In this case though, Kraft implies pooling, stating that "Kraft plants [are] making cheeses, but not Kraft". In fact, cheese was pooled under an organisation called BACAL as

margarine was under MARCOM (Nicol, 2009). Kraft's approach differs slightly from the Stork Cookery Service by concentrating on recipes that use the product (if not the specific brand) being advertised, a likely attempt to reposition cheese as "a main dish", which would be likely to increase sales of cheese after the war. These advertisements also feature an apology.

TRY THESE AS A MAIN DISH

Cheese Dumplings



INGREDIENTS: 1½ lb. potatoes; ¾ oz. grated cheese; 2 reconstituted dried eggs; salt; pepper.

METHOD: Boil potatoes, drain and mash. Place over low heat and season well. Add the reconstituted dried eggs, 2 oz. of the grated cheese and mix well. (Unfortunately, you cannot buy Kraft Cheese now because the

Kraft plants have been put at the service of the Government—they're making cheeses but not Kraft. No Kraft Cheese or Velveeta has been made in Great Britain for several months. But you'll find these cheese dumplings excellent, even with ordinary cheese.)

When cold, shape into 8 or 10 round balls and roll in remaining grated cheese. Place on greased baking tin and bake for about 20 minutes in hot oven until brown and crusty.

Served with braised carrots and a raw cabbage salad, these cheese dumplings make a really grand meal. Enough for 4 people.

Sorry! **There's no Kraft Cheese or Velveeta now being made!**

Figure 9 Kraft Cheese Advertisement (Kraft Cheese, 1943)

Pooling also effected the advertising messages used by the new industry bodies. As these new entities did not have any direct competition, their only purpose in advertising would be to inform consumers of the new situation and persuade them that the new brand was worth buying. As J. W. Fletcher of the Co-operative Society (cited by Harrison and Madge, 1940, p. 371) noted in 1940, in relation to the pooling of margarine, consumers had "no confidence" in the pooled brand and viewed it as "a poor substitute, not only for butter, but for the brand of margarine with which she has been satisfied for many years". As this was written in 1940, it is likely that the government had noted this problem by the time other industries were pooled, hence the efforts of the industry bodies to promote the pooled brand.

Figure 10 illustrates how the pooled Soft Drink Industry (S.D.I.) used advertising to persuade consumers of the value of the new pooled brand. Figure 10 also indicates that as well as being pooled, soft drinks were also zoned and points out, in a simple, informative advertisement the benefits of the system.

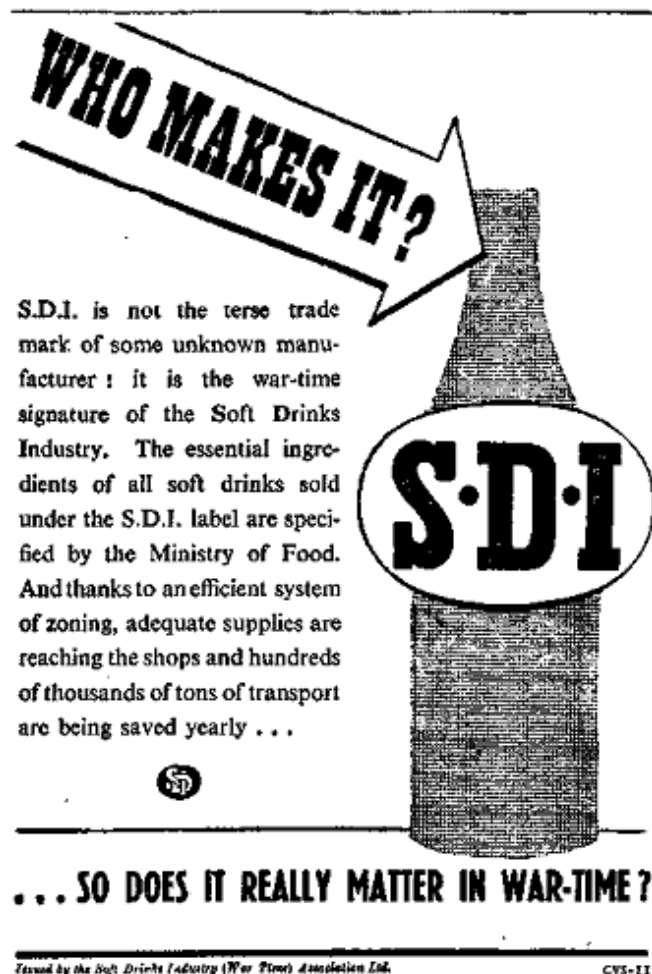


Figure 10 Soft Drinks Industry Advertisement, (Soft Drink Industry, 1944)

The importance of rationing to Second World War advertising is clear, and while the other elements of control, zoning and pooling arguably have less influence, they still have a major impact. For example, as this paper shows, zoning and pooling both required explanation and apologies. Perhaps however, shortages had a greater influence than both.

Shortages

As Gardiner (2005, p. 22) points out “just because something was not rationed, it did not mean it was in plentiful supply – quite the reverse”, in fact as Longmate (1971, p.22) states, “there was a great deal of nothing about”. In fact, more advertisements mentioned some aspect of shortages than mentioned rationing.

There are two issues that need to be noted about this difference. Firstly, there is some degree of overlap between mentions of rationing and shortages, as some advertisements will mention both. For example, Palm Toffee, which was discussed earlier had positioned itself as a way to replace sugar in children’s diets, was one of the few brands to specifically announce it was rationed. The explicit positioning of the brand as a replacement for sugar had been replaced, once sweets were rationed, with a more oblique link that the brand “strengthens, sustains”, as Figure 11 shows. This Palm Toffee advertisement specifically mentioned they were rationed, but also requests that disappointed customers “Don’t blame the shopkeeper”, a sub-set of the ‘Wait for supplies,

be patient' message, illustrated in Table III. Secondly, quite often advertisements for products which were rationed, would quite often not mention rationing, but rather say that the brand was in short supply. This seems at first glance to be odd, however it does fit with the discussion of Burrige's (2008) positioning strategies listed in Table II. Most of the advertisements discussed in his study which mentioned rationing adopted the Burrige (2008) strategy of 'the product is available and a solution or substitute for a rationed good' position. Therefore, it was brands which were not rationed products which mentioned rationing. For the rationed products themselves, the rationing was not mentioned, possibly because it was imposed at product level and on the consumers rather than impacting the brand particularly.

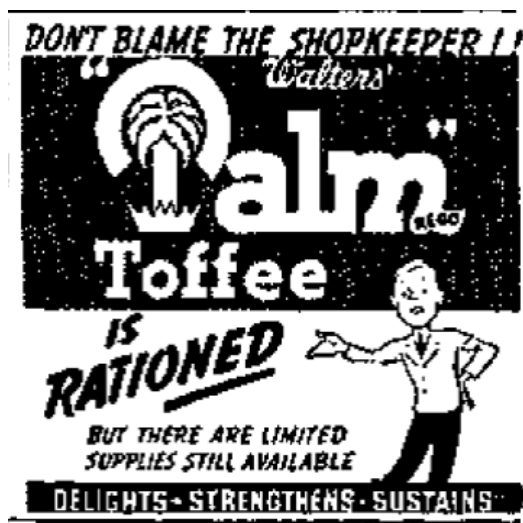


Figure 11 Palm Toffee Advertisement. (Palm Toffee 1941)

A number of different messages relating to shortages appeared across the war, though they varied in popularity across the whole period. The most consistent message to appear throughout the whole war was related to 'Making things go further / make do and mend'. In fact, before November 1939, no other messages related to shortages appeared at all. Before more detailed discussion of some of the messages which appeared, it is also important to note that as Burrige (2008, p. 391) states, "an advert can do more than one thing at a time" and so, as will be shown, quite often advertisements carried more than one message about shortages at a time.

These messages are different from Burrige's positioning strategies and represent a contribution to the historiography. Extrapolated from Burrige's strategies, the messages in Table III represent a number of different responses to various forms of market control and causes of shortages. The rest of the paper will explore these messages and indicate which aspects of control and shortages they were used in response to.

Message
Brand is not rationed
Doing without
Information

Explanation
Apology
After the war / victory
Be patient and wait for supplies
Be patient with the shopkeeper
Making products last / go further
Make do and mend

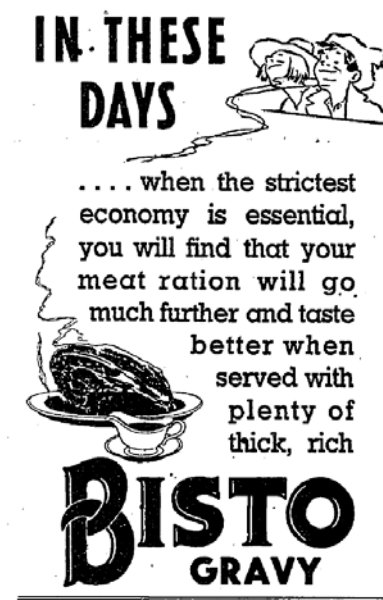
Table III Advertising Messages Relating to Market Control and Shortages

Make Things Go Further / Make Do and Mend

The most common rationing and shortages related messages concerned making things go further or to make do and mend. There is an overlap here with the 'solution or substitute' positioning strategy identified by Burrige (2008), in that some of these messages relate to the brands used to support other products that are rationed. As discussed earlier, this included "the producers of sauces, meat extracts, condiments and soups" (Clampin, 2009, p. 60) who positioned their brands as being useful in making wartime diets more interesting and making the limited available food go further. An example of this is Bisto explicitly claiming to "make the most of your ration" (Figure 12).



(a)



(b)

Figure 12 Bisto Advertisements (Bisto 1940a; 1940b)

Rowntree's Cocoa added the claim that their brand made "every meal go further" soon after the war began (Rowntrees, 1939a), using a similar positioning to their pre-war claim (Rowntrees, 1939b), which was just about stretching budget.

Other brands used the approach of positioning themselves as alternatives to products in short supply, similar to Burridge's (2008) first positioning strategy, throughout the war, for example Weetabix (1940) and Kellogg's Corn Flakes (1943), positioned themselves as a way to save both fuel and bacon, since they could replace the traditional British breakfast choice of bacon and eggs (Clampin, 2014, citing the Statistical Review of Press Advertising). Also Clampin (2014, citing the Statistical Review of Press Advertising) indicates that Kellogg's Corn Flakes had the biggest increase in advertising spend in late 1939, from £15 to £3,009, in response to the announcement of the rationing of bacon on 1 November 1939. The positioning of cereals as an alternative to traditional cooked breakfasts continued throughout the war, even after cereals were rationed themselves in 1942 (Mackay, 2003), as shown in Figure 13. The Kellogg's Corn Flakes advertisement, from January 1943, includes another tactic used by many advertisers, to help consumers deal with shortages, providing instructions on how to make up for shortages in other products or how to make the brand either last longer or be more useful. As discussed earlier, the provision of information is common in advertising for high involvement purchasing decisions.

Rather than make suggestions about other products, some brands in short supply actually suggested that consumers make the brand itself last or use it sparingly and sometimes gave advice on how to do that. This is discussed as a separate message, as it is not a position that the brand is attempting to achieve, rather it is an attempt to extend usage. This 'make the brand last / use sparingly' message begins to become relatively common at the end of 1940 and the beginning of 1941. From the point of view of the brand this served a double purpose, firstly it portrayed a patriotic message of self-denial and secondly it reduced the risk of consumers trying (and perhaps liking) competitor brands. In some cases these were fairly straightforward, a Mars Bar and Starry Way (1942) campaign suggested cutting the bars into sections to make them last longer. Other brands offered more complex instructions often in the form of recipes, frequently including ways for brands, such as Weetabix (1941), to be used in unfamiliar ways to extend limited food supplies. In some cases the brand simply suggested that consumers use less of the brand, for example a number of chocolate brands beginning in 1941 asked consumers to "leave it for the children" (for example, Fry's, 1941a).

**You'll be better off
with a little less meat
if you eat more
Weetabix**



Cutting down the meat ration won't matter a lot if you eat plenty of Weetabix, the double-touted whole wheat cereal. Housewives everywhere are using Weetabix as the wartime food standby. It's so handy, so easy to take straight from the carton and be free from all cooking. Think of the time Weetabix saves when you use it instead of bacon for breakfast with a little hot or cold milk. Think how it saves your butter because it's so useful with marmalade, jam, honey, cheese, paste, etc. Weetabix is the time-saving, marvellously sustaining whole wheat food for all war-time occasions. Get a carton from your Grocer today.

SEND US 12 IN STAMPS FOR A GENEROUS SAMPLE

Weetabix
The Sustaining Cereal
NO INCREASE IN PRICE **6^p & 10^p 1/2**
FROM ALL GROCERY STORES



(a)

Your Milk Problem and the 30-Second Breakfast

ALL over Britain, busy housewives start their families off for the day with a 30-Second Breakfast of Kellogg's Corn Flakes.

But now that winter has cut down our milk supplies, what are these families going to do? Fortunately, nobody need worry. Whenever you find you can't make your fresh milk go round, use Household Milk. There is a tin now on sale for every family. Crisp, crunchy Kellogg's, whether served with fresh or with Household Milk, taste simply grand! Everybody loves them.

And then, of course, by serving a 30-Second Breakfast, you're saving yourself time, trouble and fuel. There's no cooking.

How to prepare your Household Milk for tomorrow's breakfast

1. To one pint of lukewarm water in a wide-necked jug or saucepan, add, little by little, 5 level tablespoons of Household Milk powder.

2. While you add the milk powder, stir briskly with a fork. Continue stirring till all the powder is dissolved. Pour into a jug and stand in a cool place till morning.



KELLOGG'S CORN FLAKES

5d. A PACKET CONTAINING TEN HIGH BREAKFASTS. 2 POINTS

This is the fourth week at Ration Points No. 6.

(b)

Figure 13: Weetabix and Kellogg's Corn Flakes Advertisements (Weetabix, 1940; Kellogg's Corn Flakes, 1943)

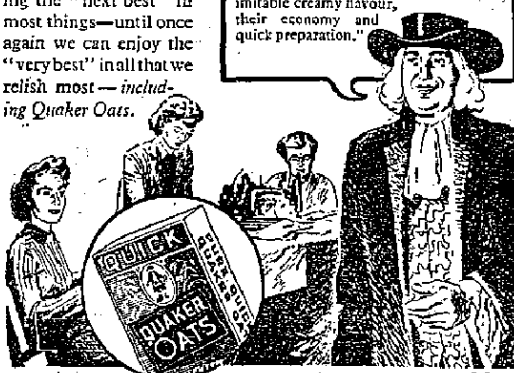
Finally some advertisements simply referred to the 'Make do and Mend' campaign. In some cases these were actually quite general branding advertisements, seeking to associate a brand that was absent or in short supply with a patriotic campaign, as in Figure 14.

MAKE DO AND MEND!

Make do and mend! That's our motto for today—just one of those things we expect to face in war-time—and make do we must in many ways, cheerfully accepting the "next best" in most things—until once again we can enjoy the "very best" in all that we relish most—including Quaker Oats.

"I'll be back ready to help start the new day right with QUICK QUAKER OATS"

the very best the world provides, rich in vital health elements (including tonic Vitamin B₁) famous for their inimitable creamy flavour, their economy and quick preparation."



Q.O. 11a

Figure 14 Quick Quaker Oats Advertisement, (Quick Quaker Oats, 1944)

In some advertisements using the 'make do and mend' message, there was little direct relevance to the brand, as in the case of Quick Quaker Oats, although the comparison to "cheerfully accepting the 'next best'" does create a link. This is an attempt by the brand to prevent consumers permanently switching to the new brands they were forced to try by the absence of Quick Quaker Oats.

While the 'making products go further / make do and mend' message was the most common at the beginning of the war, by the beginning of 1941, this had changed. Messages relating to patience and to explanations for shortages began to become more prevalent.

Wait For Supplies / Be Patient / Be Patient with Retailers

As with the Quaker advertisement, it is likely that part of the reason for brands asking for patience from consumers in this way, is an attempt to prevent brand switching. As will be seen however, most of the 'be patient' messages do not mention explicitly that the brand will be back soon, simply that patience is needed.

The confectionary sector made most use of the 'patience with shopkeepers' message from December 1940 and the first few months of 1941. In part this is because of the large number of individual brands owned by single organisations in the confectionary sector. In particular Rowntree, as illustrated by Figure 16, produced a number of different brands, each of which asked customers to be patient with shopkeepers when stocks were short, and each of whose advertisements appeared in both papers. Mass Observation (MO) diaries and publications give an indication why these messages were considered necessary. For example, shopkeeper S.J. Cartey's MO diary for 5 and 8 February 1941 indicates that on both these days he was "unable to supply" "nearly every other person who comes into the shop" (Cartey, 1941). That these problems could lead to confrontations between customers and retailer is illustrated by Kathleen Hey's published MO diary (Hey, 2016), which indicates the level of abuse some shopkeepers were subject to from customers frustrated at not being able to get the products they want. According to "one girl observer who serves in her father's shop" this could even sometimes escalate to violence (Harrison and Madge, 1940, p. 128).

When it's
NO SMOKING
by Order



Four hours to go and smoking forbidden . . . ! That's when you appreciate the varied real-fruit flavours in Rowntree's Fruit Clear Gums! They refresh you, and they're soothing, too—they help the job along!

ROWNTREE'S
Fruit Clear Gums
soothe and refresh

2d TUBES 6d PACKETS

★ If Gums and Patties are out of stock—don't blame the shopkeeper. He does his best to get them, and we do our best to keep a fair supply all over the country with the materials available.

(a)



What active people need

ACTIVE people carry with them a block of concentrated staying-power—Chocolate Crisp. This chocolate block produces a *sharp* rise of blood-sugar, and is therefore absorbed more slowly into the system and keeps you satisfied longer. There's actually two hours of endurance capacity in every block of Chocolate Crisp. It must have been a man of action who gave Chocolate Crisp the title of "the biggest little meal in Britain."



* If Chocolate Crisp is out of stock, don't blame the shopkeeper. He does his best to get it, and we do our best to keep a fair supply all over the country with the materials available.

With the big rise in the cost of making, we now have to charge 2d. for Chocolate Crisp. It still remains the highest quality at the lowest price.

The biggest little meal in Britain 2^{1d.}

(b)

Figure 16 Rowntree Patience with Shopkeepers Advertisements. (Rowntree's Fruit Clear Gums, 1941; KitKat Chocolate Crisp, 1941)

It can be seen, however, that these messages of patience from Rowntree are much more low-key than that from Palm Toffee in Figure 11. Rather than being a central part of the message, the request for 'patience with shopkeepers' appears only at the bottom of each advertisement, using almost identical language. The request, "don't blame the shopkeeper" is followed by a claim that both the shopkeeper and the brand "do their best to keep a fair supply all over the country with the materials available". What is likely is that this difference is because the Palm Toffee advertisements were from individual brand campaigns, each with its own message, relating to the patience message. However, those in Figure 16 are from different brands within the same organisation, with different main messages that are not about patience. Whatever the reason, it seems that these discreet messages would be more likely to be missed by consumers, though the repetition of the messages in different advertisements, would have compensated for that a little by increasing the opportunities to see the message.

Explanation for Shortages

The final major message to appear in advertisements in relation to shortages, concerned explanations for shortages and to a related but lesser extent apologies. While a variety of industry sectors included explanations

for shortages in their messages, it was the confectionary and the food and drink sectors that both made the most use of explanations and used them most consistently.

The use of explanations began in earnest in September 1940, and took a variety of different forms. For example Figure 15, illustrates the “brand is so good that it is more necessary than ever, so demand exceeds our ability to supply it under wartime conditions” explanation, implying that it is not in short supply, but is rather experiencing excess demand. This is similar to Burrige’s (2008) ‘Product is available, because it is “essential”’ positioning strategy, although it concentrates on the demand side of the market, rather than the supply side. The Cadbury’s advertisement in Figure 17a illustrates two different explanations in that it mentions limitation of supplies of raw materials (in this case caused by rationing) and other demands on those goods the brand could produce, identified vaguely as “government orders”. Some brands use both, for example, Fry’s (1941b) although, as Fry’s was a subsidiary of Cadbury (Fitzgerald, 2005) it is not surprising that they would share the same message. Other brands, however use either the ‘government work’ explanation, such as Shredded Wheat or the limited supplies of raw materials, such as ‘Camp’ Coffee (1941). Again, these were messages which were used throughout the war, linking the shortage of the brand to the war effort, and hence acceptance of the shortages becomes a patriotic duty. As Figure 17c indicates, the linkage to ‘government work’ evolved as the end of the war came closer to become more specific about the use to which the government was putting the brand.

The advertisement for Tyne Brand Products in Figure 17b gives another quite common explanation for shortages, government restrictions. In some cases there were, as here, restrictions on what can be made, or on what can be sold. An alternative approach is shown in Figure 17c, which combines an implication that the brand is helping the war effort with an attempt to position the brand as endorsed by the armed forces.

Explanations for shortages were quite common, as were explanations for brands which were absent.

CADBURY'S PRICES

*Cadbury's Prices as announced on Jan. 1st, 1940,
remain unchanged.*

Prices of the principal lines are :

MILK CHOCOLATE	2d block	4 oz 4d	8 oz 8d
BOURNVILLE CHOCOLATE	2 oz 2d	4 oz 4d	8 oz 8d
MILK BRAZIL	2d block	$\frac{1}{2}$ lb 5d	$\frac{1}{2}$ lb 10d
MILK FRUIT & NUT	2d block	$\frac{1}{2}$ lb 4½d	$\frac{1}{2}$ lb 9d
WHOLE NUT MILK	2d block	$\frac{1}{2}$ lb 4½d	$\frac{1}{2}$ lb 9d
MILK TRAY BLOCK	2½d		

ALL FILLED BLOCKS 2d - LUNCH BLOCK 2d

MILK TRAY ASSORTMENT	(Loose)	6d per $\frac{1}{2}$ LB
ROSES		
MILK TRAY		
ROSES	(Boxed)	1 LB - 2/2 $\frac{1}{2}$ LB - 1/1 $\frac{1}{4}$ LB - 6½d

VOGUE ASSORTMENT	1/6 per $\frac{1}{2}$ LB Box	3/- LB
KING GEORGE V ASSORTMENT	2/- per $\frac{1}{2}$ LB Box	4/- LB
CONTINENTAL ASSORTMENT	2/6 per $\frac{1}{2}$ LB Box	5/- LB

BOURNVILLE COCOA	6d per $\frac{1}{2}$ LB	11d per $\frac{1}{2}$ LB
BOURN-VITA	9d per $\frac{1}{2}$ LB	1/5 per $\frac{1}{2}$ LB

BISCUITS	TEA-TIME	DAIRY MILK
	DAIRY MILK	LOOSE $\frac{1}{2}$ lb 8d
		DAIRY MILK (pkt) $\frac{1}{2}$ lb 9d

Lines and packings not mentioned in this list remain unchanged in price. All Cadbury's prices are based on careful costing and will only be changed as costs demand.

★Owing to sugar rationing and Government orders we have been unable to supply all our customers in full. We regret any inconvenience and disappointment that this may have caused.

Cadbury Bros. Ld

(a)

Present manufacturing restrictions affect many food products. Whilst you may not always be able to get all our products, it is well to remember to—

*Get them when you can!
—they are still the best*

TYNE BRAND Canned Herrings (various). Meat & Fish Pastes in glass. Sliced Sweet Chutney.	FARNE BRAND Canned Herrings (various). Canned Meats of all des- criptions. Meat & Fish Pastes in tins.	COUNTRY GARDEN Cheese Spread. English Canned Fruits & Vegetables. Fruit Squashes.
TINYBEST BRAND Soup Powders in all varieties. Meat & Fish Pastes in all varieties.	DUROMA BRAND Essences. Squash Extracts. Dury.	SO-TAIST-EE BRAND Meat & Fish Pastes in glasses. Canned Vegetables, etc. Meat Roll, etc. Beef & Vegetable Extract.

FOR PEOPLE OF GOOD TASTE . . .
Sold by Grocers and Stores everywhere.

TYNE BRAND PRODUCTS - ENGLAND


(b)

PARATROOPS IN ITALY CARRY CHOCOLATE

The emergency ration issued to British paratroops is sufficient to keep a soldier fighting fit for 48 hours after landing. All the foods included in this ration have been specially chosen for their nourishing and sustaining properties. That is why chocolate has been included, since its qualities as a 'stand-by' have long been known.

Besides the large quantities which go to the Forces there are many other Government demands on the nation's chocolate supply. For instance, the Government has requisitioned many tons of chocolate from the Bournville output to give vitamins to the starving children of liberated Europe.

That is why chocolate will be scarcer here.



CADBURY means QUALITY

(c)

Figure 17 Explanation for Shortages Advertisements. (Cadbury, 1941; Tyne Brand Products, 1940; Cadbury, 1943)

Absent Brands

The government control of the market resulted in either the total or partial absence (either for a short period of time or in certain parts of Britain) of some brands. Zoning for example, meant, as discussed above, that brands in several industries such as margarine and soft drinks disappeared. Other brands disappeared as ingredients disappeared.

As discussed earlier, some brands, such as Stork and Quick Quaker Oats, attempted to maintain a presence in the consumers' lives during the brand's absence, while other brands which were absent simply stopped advertising, either for the duration or until close to the end. Some absent brands, such as Meltis "New Berry" Fruits simply looked ahead to the end of the war for their return (for example, Meltis "New Berry" Fruits, 1941), while others used military imagery to explain where the brand was. As has been mentioned, this was an attempt to position the brand with the war effort to remind consumers about its existence and maintain positive feelings about it for when it returned.

For some brands as the war developed their absence was a strategy of the brand to avoid negative brand associations, by changing its name and branding rather than produce an inferior product, as a result of shortages of raw materials. An example of this was when Cadbury produced Ration Chocolate once the government banned the use of whole milk in chocolate (Figure 18a). In cases like these advertising was needed to announce the change and simultaneously link the new brand to the old, while at the same differentiating them. The hope would be that customers of the original brand would transfer to the new, but would also recognise that it would not be up to the same standard as the original, so no negative associations would transfer back.

**A SPECIAL
WARTIME CHOCOLATE**



**CADBURY'S
Ration
CHOCOLATE**

No more milk can go to make Milk Chocolate now — and even the materials for making ordinary chocolate are short. So here's a new chocolate called 'Ration' Chocolate, that makes the most of everything there is. There's none too much of it, though — so only ask for it if you really need it.

**2¹/₂ LB
BLOCKS**

ALSO
IN **1¹/₂ LB
BLOCKS**
5¹/₂ LB

MADE SPECIALLY FOR WARTIME

(a)


**No more Chocolate Crisp
till after the war***

BECAUSE it is impossible to get milk for chocolate manufacture, Rowntrees can no longer make the Chocolate Crisp you knew in peace time.

They would not, in any circumstances, give the name of Chocolate Crisp to a product, however good, which differed from it in any way.

Rowntrees are, therefore, withdrawing Chocolate Crisp from the market, but they are introducing a new chocolate block, which is the nearest they can get to Chocolate Crisp in present circumstances.

The new product, called Kit Kat, is made of the best materials obtainable at the present time and is a good wholesome chocolate block.



*** BUT NOW —**

**A NEW CHOCOLATE BLOCK FOR PEOPLE
WHO MISS THEIR CHOCOLATE CRISP**

If Kit Kat is out of stock — don't blame the shopkeeper. He does his best to get it, and we do our best to keep a fair supply all over the country with the materials available.

(b)

Figure 18 New Chocolate Brand Advertisements (Cadbury's Ration Chocolate, 1941; Kit Kat, 1941)

A number of confectionary brands took this approach, including Cadbury, launching the new Ration Chocolate and KitKat Chocolate Crisp which became Kit Kat (Figure 18b), a name which has survived, albeit slightly adapted, to this day. The Ration Chocolate advertisement points out that "there's none too much of it"

and requests self-restraint on the part of customers, to “only ask for it if you need it”, again demonstrating how two messages can appear in the same advertisement.

Conclusions

While the impact of the war on the availability, or lack thereof, of goods and services for the consumer has been discussed quite extensively in the historiography, little is known about the causes of this lack of availability. While rationing and shortages have been covered, other forms of control such as zoning and pooling have largely been ignored, possibly because their effect on consumers was in many ways so similar. However, this paper provides fresh insight into both shortages and the different forms of control such as zoning and pooling and illustrates that the effect on both brands and their advertising was very different. The reason for this is simple, brands were not in short supply because they were rationed rather they were rationed because they were in short supply.

This paper also contributes to the historiography by first highlighting the different forms of control the government used in the Second World War and then discussing the specific ways advertisers in the food, drink and confectionary sectors reacted to these controls. Table IV lists these forms of control in a new Advertising Message Framework, along with shortages and absent brands, and indicates which messages were used in relation to them.

Message	Rationing	Zoning	Pooling	Shortages	Absent Brands
Brand is not rationed	X				
Doing without	X				
Information	X	X	X	X	X
Explanation		X		X	X
Apology		X	X	X	X
After the war / victory		X	X	X	X
Be patient and wait for supplies		X		X	
Be patient with the shopkeeper	X			X	
Making products last / go further	X			X	
Make do and mend	X			X	X

Table IV Advertising Message Framework

The Advertising Message Framework indicates that the widest variety of messages were used in relation to both rationing and shortages, suggesting why there has been a concentration on rationing in the historiography. However, zoning, pooling and the simple absence of brands all prompted a variety of advertising messages designed to keep consumers informed about, reminded of and interested in, brands.

References

- Alcock, J. P. (2008), "Food in a Time of War: Food Rationing in Britain during World War II." In Friedland, S. R. (Ed.), *Food and Morality: Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery 2007*, Prospect, Totnes, UK, pp 9-19.
- Bassett's Liquorice Allsorts. (1944). "Forward to Victory" *Daily Express*, 16 December, p. 4.
- Bassett's Liquorice Allsorts. (1943). "'Exhaust' your 'pocket' on Wings for Victory", *Daily Mirror*, 19

March, p. 7.

- Begley, G. (1975), *Keep Mum!: advertising goes to war*. Lemon Tree Press, London UK.
- Bell, A. H. (2008), *London Was Ours: Diaries and Memoirs of the London Blitz*, I.B. Tauris, London, UK.
- Bisto. (1939). "Bisto" *Daily Mirror*, 5 December, p. 3.
- Bisto. (1940a). "In These Days ..." *Daily Express*, 5 December, p. 3.
- Bisto. (1940b). "Meat rationing on MARCH 11th", *Daily Express*, 8 March, p. 8.
- Bovril. (1939). "Lucky BOVRIL isn't rationed!", *Daily Express*, 6 October, p. 1.
- Brady, R. A. (1950), *Crisis in Britain: plans and achievements of the Labour Government*. Cambridge University Press, London, UK.
- Brayley, M. and McGregor, M. (2005), *The British Home Front, 1939-45*, Osprey, Oxford, UK.
- Broadberry, S. and Howlett, P. (2005), "Blood, Sweat, and Tears", in Chickering, R., Förster, S. & Greiner, B. (Eds), *A world at total war: global conflict and the politics of destruction, 1937-1945*, pp. 157-176, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.
- Brown & Polson Cornflour. (1940). "Sultana Stir-About", *Daily Express*, 5 April, p. 4.
- Brown, R. F. and Millgate, H. D. (1998), *Mr Brown's war: a diary of the Second World War*. Sutton, Stroud, UK.
- Burridge, J. E. (2008). The dilemma of frugality and consumption in British women's magazines 1940-1955. *Social Semiotics*, 18(3), 389-401.
- Cadbury. (1943). "Cadbury means Quality", *Daily Express*, 9 October, p. 4.
- Cadbury. (1941). "Cadbury's Prices", *Daily Express*, 1 January, p. 7.
- Cadburys Ration Chocolate. (1941). "A Special Wartime Chocolate", *Daily Mirror*, 29 October, p. 7.
- Cake and Biscuit Manufacturers War Time Alliance. (1943). "More Transport Released by Cake Zoning", *Daily Express*, 21 April, p. 3.
- 'Camp' Coffee. (1941). "Why 'Camp' Coffee is Scarce", *Daily Express*, 4 February, p. 3.
- Chivers Jellies. (1940). "Delicious sweets for your party", *Daily Express*, 3 January, p. 9.
- Chocolate and Sugar Confectionary (War Time) Association. (1943). "Chocolate and Sweets now Zoned", *Daily Mirror*, 28 June, p. 2.
- Clampin, D. (2014), *Advertising and Propaganda in World War II: Cultural Identity and the Blitz Spirit*, I.B. Tauris, London, UK.
- Clampin, D. (2009), "'To guide, help and hearten millions'. The Place of Commercial Advertising in Wartime Britain, 1939-1945", *Journal of Macromarketing*, Vol. 29 No. 1, pp. 58-73.
- Creamola Custard Putting. (1940). "Yes, Sir, the troops insist on Creamola Custard Puddings", *Daily Express*, 8 February, p. 4.
- Edgerton, D. (2011), *Britain's war machine: weapons, resources and experts in the Second World War*, Allen Lane, London, UK.
- Fitzgerald, R. (2005), "Products, Firms and Consumption: Cadbury and the Development of Marketing,

- 1900-1939". *Business History*, Vol. 47 No. 4, pp. 511-531.
- Fox's Glacier Mints. (1944). "Fox's Glacier Mints", *Daily Express*, 25 February, p. 4.
- Fox's Glacier Mints. (1943). "The 'Zoning' of Sweets", *Daily Mirror*, 28 August, p. 3.
- Fry's (1941a). "The Chocolate Code". *Daily Mirror*, 8 August, p. 1.
- Fry's. (1941b). "Where is all This Chocolate Going?", *Daily Express*, 1 September, p. 4.
- Gardiner, J. (2005), *Wartime: Britain 1939-1945*, Review, London, UK.
- Hammond, R. J. (1954), *Food and Agriculture in Britain, 1939-45. Aspects of wartime control*. Stanford University Press, Stanford, Ca.
- Harrison, T., and Madge, C. (1940), *War begins at home*. Chatto and Windus, London, UK.
- Harvey, J. (1991), "The Story of Stork", *Nutrition & Food Science*, Vol. 91 No. 2, pp. 12-13.
- Hey, K. (2016), *The View from the Corner Shop: The Diary of a Yorkshire Shop Assistant in Wartime*, Simon & Schuster, London.
- Hovis. (1940). "Try Hovis with Jam ...", *Daily Mirror*, 1 April, p. 13.
- Jobling, P. (2005), *Man Appeal: Advertising, Modernism and Menswear*, Berg, New York, NY.
- Jones, J. B. (2009), *All-Out for Victory: Magazine Advertising and the World War II Home Front*, University Press of New England, Waltham, MA.
- Kellogg's Corn Flakes. (1943). "Your Milk Problem and the 30-Second Breakfast", *Daily Express*, 8 January, p. 4.
- Kit Kat. (1941). "No more Chocolate Crisp till after the war", *Daily Express*, 14 August, p. 2.
- KitKat Chocolate Crisp. (1941). "What active people need", *Daily Mirror*, 11 January, p. 6.
- Kraft Cheese. (1943). "Try These as a Main Dish: Cheese Dumplings", *Daily Mirror*, 5 November, p. 2.
- Levene, A. (2014), "The Meanings of Margarine in England: Class, Consumption and Material Culture from 1918 to 1953", *Contemporary British History*, Vol. 28 No. 2, pp. 145-165.
- Longmate, N. (1971), *How we lived then: a history of everyday life during the Second World War*, Hutchinson London, UK.
- Mackay, R. (2003). *Half the battle: civilian morale in Britain during the Second World War*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, UK.
- Mars Bar and Starry Way. (1942). "Cut Them into Slices", *Daily Mirror*, 13 November, p. 4.
- Meltis "New Berry" Fruits. (1941). "The Fruits of Victory", *Daily Express*, 25 April, p. 2.
- Miles, C., and Partington, S. V. (2013), *Mrs Miles's diary: the wartime journal of a housewife on the home front*, Simon & Schuster, London, UK.
- Minns, R. (1980), *Bombers and mash: The domestic front 1939-45*, Virago, London, UK.
- Moschis, G. P. (1976), Social-Comparison and Informal Group Influence, *Journal of Marketing Research*, Vol. 13 No. 3, pp. 237-244.
- Nevett, T. R. (1982), *Advertising in Britain: a history*. Heinemann on behalf of the History of Advertising Trust, London UK.

- Nicol, P. (2009), *Sucking eggs: what your wartime granny could teach you about diet, thrift and going green*, Chatto & Windus, London, UK.
- Palm Toffee. (1940). "Extra Sugar", *Daily Mirror*, 8 February, p. 9.
- Palm Toffee. (1941). "Don't Blame the Shopkeeper!", *Daily Mirror*, 10 May, p. 4.
- Petty, R. E., Cacioppo, J. T., and Schumann, D. (1983), "Central and Peripheral Routes to Advertising Effectiveness: The Moderating Role of Involvement", *Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol. 10 No. 2, 135-146.
- Pugh, M. (1998). The Daily Mirror and the Revival of Labour 1935-1945. *Twentieth Century British History*, 9(3), 420-438.
- Quick Quaker Oats. (1944). "Make Do and Mend!", *Daily Express*, 4 February, p. 1.
- Rowntree's Cocoa. (1944). "Rowntree's Cocoa", *Daily Mirror*, 12 February, p. 5.
- Rowntree's Cocoa. (1939a). "4 kiddies on £2-15-0 a week for everything", *Daily Mirror*, 7 October, p. 11.
- Rowntree's Cocoa. (1939b). "Could you find a better way of spending £3 a week?", *Daily Mirror*, 9 September, p. 13.
- Rowntree's Fruit Clear Gums. (1941). "No. Smoking", *Daily Mirror*, 6 February, p. 11.
- Ryvita. (1940). "Ryvita is Delicious with Any of These", *Daily Mirror*, 7 March, p. 7.
- Soft Drinks Industry. (1944). "Who Makes It?", *Daily Mirror*, 1 April, p. 4.
- Stork Margarine Cookery Service. (1940a). "Stork Margarine Joins Up", *Daily Mirror*, 1 August, p. 10.
- Stork Margarine Cookery Service. (1940b). "The Use of Unrationed Foods", *Daily Express*, 10 October, p. 2.
- Tyne Brand Products. (1940). "Get them when you can! – they are still the best", *Daily Express*, 7 November, p. 3.
- Virol. (1939). "This winter will test their health", *Daily Express*, 7 November, p. 8.
- Vita-Weat. (1944). "Vita-Weat" *Daily Express*, 22 April, p. 4.
- Weetabix. (1940). "You'll be better off with a little less meat if you eat more Weetabix", *Daily Express*, 4 April, p. 3.
- Weetabix. (1941). "Make Your Food go Further with Weetabix", *Daily Mirror*, 5 August, p. 2.
- Zweiniger-Bargielowska, I. (2000), *Austerity in Britain: rationing, controls, and consumption, 1939-1955*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.